

Subject File China - US Relations Admissions of China to UN, 1969-1972

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Voting on the Question of Chinese Representation:
24th General Assembly

The voting on the question of Chinese representation took place on November 11, 1969, and involved two different resolutions.

The first resolution stated that "any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question" thus requiring a two-thirds majority vote, and was passed with 71 for, 48 against, and 4 abstaining. A vote was taken by role call as follows:

In favor: Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldive Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece.

Against: Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana.

Abstaining: Malaysia, Portugal, Austria, Barbados.

Absent: Indonesia, Kuwait, Equatorial Guinea.

The second resolution called for the "restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China and the recognition of the representatives of its government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and the expulsion forthwith of the representatives of Chiang Kai-Shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it." It was defeated with 48 for, 56 against, and 21 abstaining. The voting was as follows:



In favor: United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Against: United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Maldives, Netherlands, Portugal, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia.

Absent: Indonesia

Last year, there was a third resolution which concerned the formation of a Committee of Member States to examine the question of Chinese representation and "to make the appropriate recommendations. . . for an equitable and practical solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter." This resolution was defeated by a vote of 30 for, 67 against, and 27 abstaining. There was no such move this year.

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VOTING ON THE QUESTION OF CHINESE
REPRESENTATION SINCE 1950

Following are the votes on questions relating to China's representation since they first came before the United Nations in 1950. For consistency in the tabulation, the "Yes" column indicates the votes in favor of Peking, the "No" indicates the votes against Peking.

(Until 1960, unless otherwise indicated, the vote was in the General Assembly on a motion by the United States to keep the question off the agenda. In recent years, however, the motions have, for the most part involved two resolutions: a United States-sponsored resolution to classify the issue as an "important issue", thus requiring a two-thirds vote for approval; and an Albanian-Cambodian-sponsored resolution to expel the Republic of China and seat the Chinese Communists.)

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>ABSTAIN</u>
*1950	3	6	2
1950	6	33	10
1951	11	37	4
1952	7	42	11
1953	10	44	2
1954	11	43	6
1955	12	42	6
1956	24	47	8
1957	27	48	6
1958	28	44	9
1959	29	44	9
1960	34	42	22
+1961	34	61	7
≠1961	36	48	20
≠1962	42	56	12
**1963	41	57	12
1964 - No vote taken because of United Nations financial crisis			
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**1965	47	47	20
+1966	48	66	7
**1966	46	57	17
+1967	48	69	4
**1967	45	58	17
**1968	44	58	23
**1969	48	56	21

* Security Council vote on a Soviet motion to seat

+ United States-sponsored resolution to classify the issue as an "important issue" requiring a two-thirds vote for approval

≠ Soviet motion to seat

** Albanian-Cambodian proposal to seat



UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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Press Release USUN-166(70)
November 12, 1970

Statement by Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips, United States
Representative, in Plenary, on Chinese Representation, November
12, 1970.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates:

We have before us for consideration once again a proposal sponsored by Albania, Algeria and sixteen other states to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and to place in the same seat representatives from the People's Republic of China. I use the words "once again" because this proposal, and the resolution which seeks to effect it, differ not at all from similar proposals and resolutions which we have considered -- and decisively rejected -- many times in the past. My Delegation hopes that it will be rejected again this year.

Mr. President, the position of the United States is well known. We have joined with the governments of seventeen other states, embracing representatives from every continent, in co-sponsoring a procedural resolution which affirms that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question and requires a two-thirds majority for adoption. This is a long-established position of the General Assembly, affirmed and re-affirmed by large majorities on many occasions when there has been a substantive debate on the issue of Chinese representation.

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We would do well to look into the matter and understand why the "important question" procedure has so consistently received overwhelming support, particularly since we have already heard it attacked as nothing more than a transparent device for withholding from the People's Republic of China something which, it is claimed, is its own. The fact of the matter, however, is that far from being some sort of maneuver, the "important question" procedure found in Article 18 of our Charter is one of the most essential protections of all members of the United Nations, whether large or small. The plain language of Article 18 is that decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting. Important questions are defined in that Article as recommendations with respect to international peace and security, election to various offices within our organization, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system and the budget, the suspension of rights and privileges of membership, the admission of new members and the expulsion of present members -- and this is precisely what document A/L.605 would have us do.

Mr. President, to insist on the integrity of the Charter, to re-affirm the protections which it provides, and to insist that these protections must be available to all members without distinction, is not only a matter of self-interest for all of us within this room; it is also a matter of simple equity and justice. It would set a most dangerous precedent to expel a Member of the United Nations -- an act that has never been taken in this Organization's quarter century of life -- by a simple majority of those present and voting. Those who may be tempted to disregard the Charter's safeguards because of their views on the present issue should consider carefully whether at some future time on some future issue they might find themselves in a position similar to that in which some have sought to place the Republic of China. We should remain faithful to the plain words of the Charter and ensure that these words apply to all without discrimination. In thus re-affirming the "important question" principle we will be taking an action that relates to far more than just the question of Chinese representation.

It is for these reasons that my country has joined in co-sponsoring the resolution set forth in document A/L.599. It is for these reasons that I strongly urge all Members, regardless of their position on the substantive question of Chinese representation, to vote to re-affirm this vital procedure.

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Mr. President, I turn now to the substantive resolution, contained in document A/L.605. You are all well aware of my Government's firm opposition to this draft resolution. Its proposal to expel the representatives of the Republic of China is both unwise and unjust.

Mr. President, the expulsion of a member state is a most serious business. Article 6 of the Charter reserves this action to cases in which a member has persistently violated the principles upon which our organization was founded, and it requires joint action by both the Security Council and the Assembly. There is not a single act of the Republic of China that would justify these extreme measures. Yet the resolution before us has deliberately joined the concept of admitting the People's Republic of China to the call for expelling the Republic of China. Indeed they are so joined as to prevent the extrication of one from the other.

We have heard it said before, and doubtless it will be repeated during the course of this debate, that the People's Republic of China is a reality that cannot be ignored. Indeed that is so. And I do not believe any of us here today, or any of the governments that we represent, ignores that reality. As far as the United States is concerned, as most are aware, we have actively sought to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. Representatives of my Government have met with representatives of the People's Republic of China twice this year and would have met more often had Peking been willing to do so. And my Government has taken a number of concrete actions -- actions for which we neither proposed nor anticipated a quid pro quo -- to ease relations between us. The fact of the matter is, the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents and achievements of the great people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization.

But let us also remember, Mr. President, that the Charter nowhere confers upon states the right to make their own conditions for membership in the United Nations. Neither in the Charter, nor in any resolution is it written that a state may say "We will join, but only if you expel member X". What the Charter does say is that membership shall be open to all peace-loving states able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership, and that members may be expelled only if they have persistently violated the principles of the Charter.

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All of us must recall that many times during the period of General Debate earlier in this session, and in the speeches delivered during the special commemorative week, we have heard distinguished delegates, Foreign Ministers, and even Heads of State warmly endorse the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. How curious it is that some of the same delegations who then urged universality of membership, now with equal fervor urge that we expel one of our present members. Surely if universality means anything at all, it means that we add to our present membership, not subtract from it. My Government fails to see how it is possible for a delegation that favors universality of membership -- or for any delegation at all -- to vote to expel from our midst a government which:

-- effectively governs 14 million people -- a population larger than that of two-thirds of the members of this Assembly;

-- is recognized diplomatically by more than sixty of the members of this organization;

-- has been a member of the United Nations since the organization's founding;

-- has worked faithfully and constructively for the good of the organization;

-- has contributed more than its share to the work of the Specialized Agencies;

-- and has consistently sought to assist the process of development throughout the world.

The sponsors of the resolution now before us, as they have done in previous years, would have us ignore such considerations and, by **spurious** appeals to the principle of universality and misrepresentation of fact, call on us to expel a member which has faithfully abided by the Charter of this Organization. Such a demand clearly violates the principles of equity and justice. It should be opposed by all those who believe that these principles should guide the actions of this Organization and who maintain that the Charter must be upheld if this Organization itself is to survive and be effective.

Mr. President, we believe that these reasons require that this Assembly reject this proposal to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations. Whatever views Members may hold on the question of Peking's participation, we do not see how the purposes of this Organization can be served by expelling any Member which has long and faithfully observed the obligations set forth in its Charter.

It is on this basis, Mr. President, that I urge the distinguished delegates of this Assembly to reject decisively the resolution contained in document A/L.605.

Favors Two-China Policy US Relaxes Anti-Peking Stand at UN

NOV 13 '70

By Darius Jhabvala
Globe Staff

UNITED NATIONS—The United States yesterday dropped its 20-year opposition to the seating of Red China in the world organization but firmly reiterated its demand that the Nationalist Republic of China on Formosa not be expelled.

That declaration, made by US representative Christopher H. Phillips on the first day of the annual China debate in the General Assembly, is the most significant step yet taken toward a "two-China policy," which is now being considered as a solution to a thorny issue.

Despite the new American position concerning Peking, most diplomats and officials are virtually certain a pro-Peking proposal will be defeated again this year.

Last year the proposal to expel the Nationalists and invite Peking to take China's seat was defeated by a vote of 48-56, or 14 short of the required two-thirds majority.

Canada, Italy, Belgium, Chile and Austria are expected to switch their votes this year in favor of Red China.

Mr. Phillips's statement was short and succinct and surprisingly devoid of criticism of Peking. It appeared that Washington is being careful not to destroy the slim prospects that exist for improvement in relations.

Mr. Phillips formerly of Beverly, Mass., made three points. They are:

—The substantive issue should be decided by a two-thirds majority vote as has been done since 1961:

—There is no opposition to Peking becoming a member of the United Nations;

—The Nationalists should be allowed to continue their UN membership.

The shift in the American expressed almost all delegations he



CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS
... a new stance

while US backers and allies considered it a move "toward acceptance of the realities," others, particularly those which maintain diplomatic relations with Peking, felt it doesn't go far enough.

US-CHINA, Page 8

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US relaxes its UN opposition to Red China

★ US-CHINA

Continued from Page 1

Mr. Phillips acknowledged that Red China "is a reality that cannot be ignored" and no government, including the US, "ignores that reality."

"As far as the US is concerned, as most are aware, we have actively sought to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation," he said.

The ambassador then recalled that the Administration had taken several steps during the past two years "to ease relations with Peking."

"The fact of the matter is that the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents and achievements of the great people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization," he declared.

But then Mr. Phillips forcefully declared American opposition to the ouster of the Nationalist regime, claiming it would be an illegal act under the UN charter.

The charter, he argued,

"no where confers upon the state the right to make their own conditions for membership in the United Nations" and "neither in the UN charter, nor in any resolution is it written that a state may say 'we will join, but only if you expel member X.'"

"How curious it is that some of the same delegations which urged universality in membership, now with equal fervor urge that we expel one of our present members. Surely, if universality means anything at all, it means that we add to our present membership, not subtract from it," he said.

The assembly's debate began with two resolutions before it. One, sponsored by 18 members including the US, calls for a decision on the basis of a two-thirds majority vote and not a simple majority. The other, also sponsored by 18 members, would have the UN eject the Nationalist delegation and replace it with one from Peking.

The first speaker, Algeria's M'hanned Yazid, said: "The presence of the Chiang Kai-Shek China in the United Nations results not from the misinterpretation of reality but the deliberate, absurd and dangerous irresponsibility of the imperialists," he stated.

"There is only one China and only one Chinese state, the People's Republic of China, and its government is the only one which legitimately exercises the rights of China in the UN . . . the lack of recognition of this fact is a flagrant injustice," he added.

Nationalist China's foreign minister, Dr. Wei Tao-Ming, declared that his government "is not an exile government . . . but a Chinese government on Chinese soil . . . and its struggle with the Communist regime is an internal matter which can be resolved only by the Chinese people."

He said that those who claim the presence of Peking is needed to solve crucial problems, such as disarmament, "betray woeful lack of understanding of

the nature of Chinese Communism . . . and exaggerate the role Peking can or is willing to play" in the international forum.

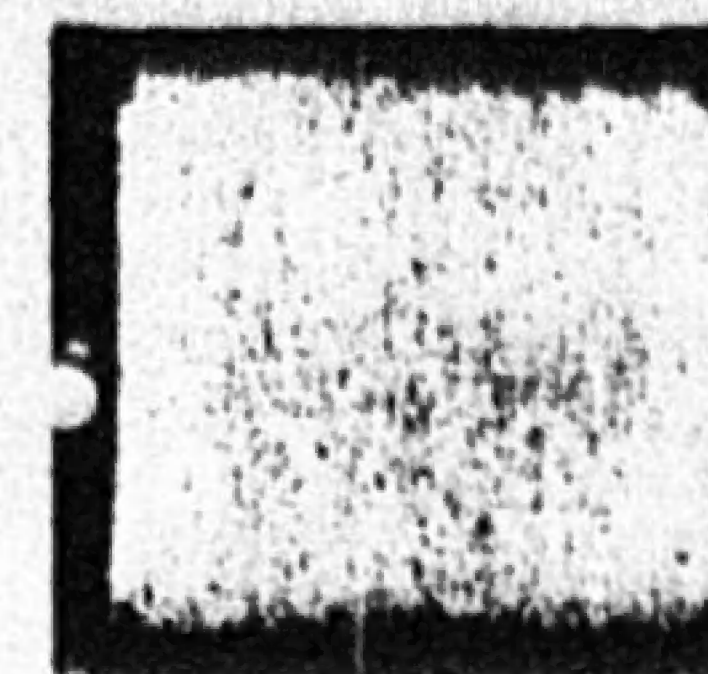
"It is difficult to understand how a regime dedicated to reshaping the world by force of arms and breaching the inevitability and even desirability of war can contribute to the cause of world peace," the foreign minister argued.

Mr. Phillips listed six points in favor of continuation of the Nationalist Chinese membership, including the fact that "she has contributed more than her share to the work of the specialized agencies." In his appeal for endorsement of the two-thirds vote, he said it is "a matter of simple equity and justice."

"It would set a most

dangerous precedent to expel a member of the United Nations — an act that has never been taken in this organization's quarter-century of life — by a simple majority. . . . and those who may be tempted to disregard the charter's safeguard because

of their views on the present issue should consider carefully, whether at some future time on some future issue they might find themselves in a position similar to that in which some have sought to place the Republic of China," he said.



**"All the News
That's Fit to Prin**

11/13/70

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U.S. EASES STAND IN DEBATE AT U.N. ON SEATING PEKING

**Drops All-Out Opposition but
Argues Against Expulsion
of Nationalist Regime**

ADMISSION IS DOUBTED

**Mainland Gains Support but
Two-Thirds Requirement Is
Expected to Be Adopted**

By HENRY TANTER

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.,
Nov. 12 — The United States, which has long pursued a policy of all-out opposition to Communist China's admission to the United Nations, today argued instead against the expulsion of Nationalist China.

This position was stated in the General Assembly, which began its annual debate on China amid indications that a resolution calling for the admission of Peking and the expulsion of Nationalist China might win a narrow majority for the first time but still fall short of adoption.

An American - sponsored resolution stipulating that the representation of China can be changed only by a two-thirds majority was introduced this morning, and it appears virtually certain to be adopted, as was a similar one last year.

Viewed as U.S. Retreat

There is a general feeling here, however, that "things are beginning to move" in Peking's favor, in the words of one diplomat. In this context, many delegates interpreted the American statement as a retreat.

Christopher H. Phillips, the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States, refrained from saying anything that could be construed as simply an argument against the admission of Peking.

"The fact of the matter is that the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the Peoples Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations," he said. He added that the

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Christopher H. Phillips, the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States, refrained from saying anything that could be construed as simply an argument against the admission of Peking.

"The fact of the matter is that the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the Peoples Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations," he said. He added that the United States agreed with those who said that Communist China was "a reality that cannot be ignored."

Pays Tribute to Chinese

He went out of his way to pay tribute to "the industry, talents and achievements of the great people" who live in China. He recalled that the representatives of Washington and Peking had met twice this year in Warsaw to exchange views and "would have met more often had Peking been willing to do so."

But he announced that the United States would vote against a 18-nation resolution before the Assembly that linked Peking's admission to the expulsion of the regime of Taiwan. The resolution was introduced this morning by M'hammed Yazid, the Algerian delegate.

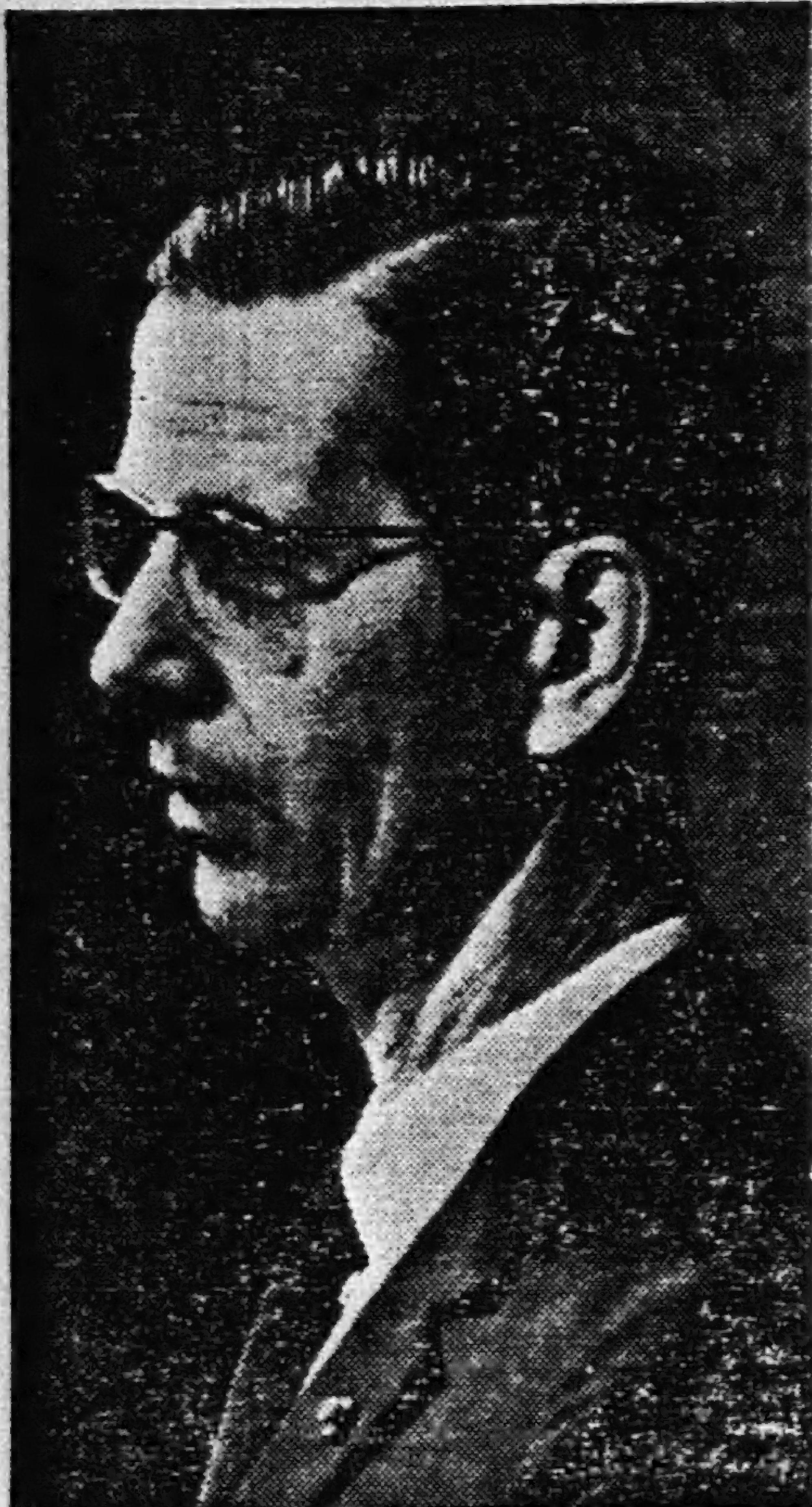
Mr. Phillips said that the United States did not see how the interests of the United Nations could be served by ex-

Continued on Page 4, Column 1





ATTENTIVE: Wei Tao-ming, Chinese Nationalist representative, listening to the debate in the General Assembly yesterday.



GIVES U.S. VIEW: Christopher H. Phillips addressing United Nation members on the question of seating Communist China.

The New York Times (by Carl T. Gossett Jr.)

U.S. Eases Stand on U.N. Peking Seat

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

pling a member that had faithfully observed the Charter. Such an expulsion would be "unwise and unfair," he said.

Last year the United States also stressed its opposition to the expulsion of Nationalist China. But Representative Irving J. Whalley, Republican of Pennsylvania, who stated the American position in the Assembly then, charged the real obstacles to admission were Peking's own isolationism, its "policy of hostility" toward its neighbors, its insistence on "unreasonable conditions," its refusal to let the Chinese people apply their talents to constructive relations with the community of nations and its opposition to a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

Accusations Dropped

There were no such accusations in the American statement today.

Some delegates saw Mr. Phillips's statement as a signal that the United States for the first time might be edging toward endorsement of the two-China thesis, which holds that the Communist and the Nationalist regimes both should be represented in the United Nations.

Peking's supporters have been predicting that the allies of Taiwan would fall back on

the two-China thesis as pressure for Peking's admission became too strong to be resisted outright. Both Peking and Taiwan have categorically rejected the two-China concept.

Chance of Delay Seen

In the view of specialists here, it might be possible to stave off Peking's entry for a year or two longer by requiring that it share representation with the Chinese Nationalist Government on Taiwan.

Last year, an Algerian-Albanian resolution calling for Peking's admission and Nationalist China's expulsion received 48 votes, with 56 votes against it and 21 abstentions.

This year the resolution is expected to pick up at least three or four votes, while three or more countries are likely to switch from opposition to abstention. The intentions of several delegations are still in doubt.

Canada and Italy, having recognized Peking recently, have served notice they will vote in favor of the resolution at the end of the debate, which is expected to last a week. They abstained last year.

Malaysia, which voted against Communist China last year, appears almost certain to vote for it.

Chile, too, is expected to vote

for Peking. She abstained last year.

There is some doubt about the position of Belgium and Austria, both of which abstained last year. Both have been moving toward recognition of Peking.

Cambodian Reversal Expected

Cambodia, which supported the Algerian-Albanian resolution last year, is expected to abstain or be absent this year.

Bolivia and Peru, which voted against the resolution last year, are counted as possible abstentions. So are a number of West African countries.

Privado G. Jimenez, the delegate from the Philippines, introduced the resolution stipulating that the change of representation would require a two-thirds majority. The resolution is sponsored by 18 other countries, including the United States.

Wei Tao-ming, the foreign minister of Nationalist China, accused Peking of seeking world revolution and providing a stimulus for "youthful revolutionaries in the cities of the Western world."

His Government, he said, is the only legitimate government of China and the only one that could give expression to the "authentic aspirations of the Chinese people."

Voting on the Question of Chinese Representation:
25th General Assembly

The voting on the question of Chinese representation took place on November 20, 1970, and involved two different resolutions.

The first resolution stated that "any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question" thus requiring a two-thirds majority vote, and was passed with 66 for, 52 against, and 7 abstaining. A vote was taken by roll call as follows:

In favor: Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo.

Against: Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria.

Abstaining: Barbados, Cameroon, Chad, Guyana, Mauritius, Portugal, Trinidad and Tobago.

Not participating in vote: Indonesia

Absent: Maldives Islands

The second resolution called for the "restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China and the recognition of the representatives of its government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and the expulsion forthwith of the representatives of Chiang Kai-Shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it." It was defeated with 51 for, 49 against, and 25 abstaining. The voting was as follows:

In favor: Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Poland, Romania, Somalia.

Against: South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Brazil, Cambodia, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone.

Abstaining: Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cyprus, Ecuador, Fiji, Guyana, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Senegal, Singapore.

Not participating in vote: Indonesia

Absent: Maldive Islands

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Public Affairs Office
United States Mission
November 1970



VOTING ON THE QUESTION OF CHINESE REPRESENTATION SINCE 1950

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(Until 1960, unless otherwise indicated, the vote was in the General Assembly on a motion by the United States to keep the question off the agenda. In recent years, however, the motions have, for the most part involved two resolutions: a United States-sponsored resolution to classify the issue as an "important issue", thus requiring a two-thirds vote for approval; and an Albanian-Cambodian-sponsored resolution to expel the Republic of China and seat the Chinese Communists.)

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>ABSTAIN</u>
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**1970	51	49	25

* Security Council vote on a Soviet motion to seat

+ United States-sponsored resolution to classify the issue as an "important issue" requiring a two-thirds vote for approval

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UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 20, 1970

The United States is pleased that the General Assembly has reaffirmed that the issue of China's representation in the United Nations is an important question, and the resolution which sought to expel the Republic of China has again failed to obtain the votes necessary for passage. We note, of course, that there is much sentiment in the UN in favor of the admission of Communist China, but we do not believe that a majority favors expulsion of the Republic of China. We consider it both unfortunate and rather ironic that a number of States which have been vocal in support of universality of UN membership nevertheless cast votes in favor of expelling a nation which has been a faithful and constructive member of the organization. We will, of course, examine all the implications of this new situation in full consultation with our friends and allies. For our part, we are not prepared to drop our firm opposition to attempts to deprive the Republic of China of its membership in the United Nations.

1. (Originally planned insert) "As our delegate stated during the debate on the Chinese Rep. question, the U.S. continues to oppose seating the Peoples Rep. of C. at the expense of expulsion from U.N. of R.C."

2. "While, as we have said on many occasions, we fully agree in the desirability of greater participation in the management of international life by the Peoples Rep. of C., we are not prepared to drop -

NCNA ON UN CHINA VOTE

PEKING NCNA INTERNATIONAL SERVICE 22 Nov. 1970

U. S. REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS, SEEING THAT THE U.S. IMPERIALIST PLOT TO OBSTRUCT THE RESTORATION TO CHINA OF ITS LEGITIMATE SEAT IN THE UNITED NATIONS COULD HARDLY BE CONTINUED, HYPOCRITICALLY STATED THAT "THE UNITED STATES IS AS INTERESTED AS ANY IN THIS ROOM TO SEE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AMONG THE FAMILY OF NATIONS". BUT PHILLIPS EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES FIRMLY OPPOSED THE OUSTING OF THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS SHOWS THAT U. S. IMPERIALISM CHANGED ITS TONE FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF MISLEADING OTHERS SO AS TO FACILITATE ITS INTENSIFIED PURSUANCE OF THE "TWO CHINAS" OR "ONE CHINA, ONE TAIWAN" PLOT. THIS IS WHAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE CAN NEVER PERMIT.



U.S. Speech at U.N. on China La

Washington Post Foreign Service

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 2—The text of the American speech to the U.N. General Assembly paving the way for a new China policy was not cleared with either Secretary of State William P. Rogers or presidential assistant Henry Kissinger, reliable sources said today.

This is thought to be one of a number of reasons the Nixon administration is seeking to replace Charles W. Yost as the United States' permanent representative to the United Nations—although the apparent failure in this instance was in the State Department.

In the wake of the aborted selection of Daniel Patrick Moynihan to succeed Yost, and the pointed failure of the White House to reaffirm confidence in the present U.N. ambassador, diplomats here assume that Yost's affectiveness has been undercut and that he will soon be leaving.

Actually, the U.S. China speech on Nov. 12 was made by Yost's deputy, Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips, because Yost was ill with laryngitis. This speech opposed expulsion of the Chinese Nationalist government on Taiwan but pointedly muted the usual criticism of the Peking government.

It was widely regarded here as signalling a move in American policy toward the concept of one Chinese nation, represented by Peking, but two Chinese states in the United Nations.

Written At State

The speech reportedly was originally written in the State Department and sent to the U.S. mission to the United Nations for comments. It then was sent back to the State Department, with suggestions, for further clearance.

As explained by knowledgeable sources, the ideas were checked at a low level in the White House but not the language of the text as finally delivered by Phillips.

Somehow no one cleared the speech with Kissinger, the chief foreign affairs adviser in the President's immediate entourage. Top State Depart-

ment officials complained that it was not cleared with Secretary Rogers, either. Phillips, however, thought it had received an official approval.

Sources here said the speech was in deliverable form by Nov. 9. Secretary Rogers was in Washington at that time, but Kissinger was in Key Biscayne with President Nixon.

(In Washington, high-ranking State Department sources indicated that the speech was not shown to Rogers because it did not depart from administration policy on China. They said the speech was cleared at the assistant secretary level.

[Kissinger and Rogers left for Paris with the President on Nov. 11 to attend Charles de Gaulle's funeral.]

Sidestep Next Day

The day after the speech, presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler appeared to retract some of its implications, emphasizing that the United States was opposed to the seating of Peking. One explanation at the time was that Ziegler was poorly briefed. A careful examination of what he said, however, shows that he took back nothing but rather executed a neat side-step.

Informed sources here believe that the administration has indeed been moving toward a new position on China but disliked being startled by the U.N. speech. Secretary of State Rogers met privately yesterday with Nationalist Chinese Foreign Minister Wei Tao-Ming in Mexico City, and it is assumed they discussed new steps on the China question.

Administration unhappiness with Yost is said to go much further back, and to concern, basically, the low-profile public presence he has presented at the United Nations since President Nixon brought him out of retirement as a career ambassador two years ago.

Specifically, it is alleged that Yost failed to prevent the recent General Assembly debate on the Middle East in which the United States was virtually isolated along with Israel. It also is alleged that he has not succeeded in win-

ning converts to U.S. views on disarmament and questions involving southern Africa.

Actually, according to sources here, Yost objected to several proposed U.S. positions on the Middle East but was overruled by Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco — whom he supposedly outranks, but who is close to Kissinger.

Theoretically, as a member of the cabinet, Yost is respon-

sible directly to the President and not to the State Department, although he defers to Rogers' wishes.

In fact, knowledgeable sources say, it has not worked that way. Kissinger has often called the shots, and Yost's suggestions also have been regularly countermanded in the State Department, sometimes at a relatively low level.

Many diplomats here say privately that Yost has been

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relatively low level.
diplomats here say
that Yost has been

treated very unfairly. While
they acknowledge that he is a
shy personality and an unim-
pressive public speaker, they
credit him with much skill in
private negotiations.

According to these sources
Yost is being blamed for not
being what he never could be.
When President Nixon ap-
pointed him, the idea was that
the United States would main-
tain a quiet presence at the
United Nations because major

policies would not be focused
here, Yost, they say, has loy-
ally tried to reflect this wish.

Yost thus is spared the cri-
ticism often directed at United
States efforts here — that
they tend to tilt at windmills
and fight for lost causes. This
criticism is focused not only
on the China policy, but also
on what some Western diplo-
mat regard as U.S. over-
championship of Israel.

Now the White House re-

portedly is searching for a
more colorful figure to re-
place Yost, who is the first ca-
reer diplomat to hold the posi-
tion of American Ambassador
to the United Nations. Henry
Cabot Lodge, Adlai Stevenson
and Arthur Goldberg, remem-
bered here as men who com-
manded attention for the
United States, were all politi-
cal appointees.

Yost was a senior fellow at

the Council of Foreign Rela-
tions at the time of his ap-
pointment, having retired in
1965, when he was deputy to
Goldberg, and then written a
book on "The Insecurity of
Nations."

He reportedly had accepted
a position in France with a
private organization promot-
ing Atlantic unity when Mr.
Nixon asked him to take the
present assignment.



The League of Women Voters of the United States

RESIDENT
RS. BRUCE B. BENSON

December 17, 1970

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xecutive Director
rs. Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone
pecial Assistant to
resident and Board
Miss Dixie Drake

Dear Mr. President:

The League of Women Voters of the United States read with interest the recent statement before the United Nations General Assembly of Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips, United States Representative to the United Nations. His remarks indicate to us a shift of emphasis in U.S. policy with regard to the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China, and it is a shift which is welcomed by League members throughout the country.

The League commends the fact that Ambassador Phillips' statement expressed no specific opposition to U.N. membership for mainland China. We also welcome the explicit recognition contained within the statement of the overwhelming support among U.N. member nations for the principle of universality of membership and of the importance of a constructive role for the People's Republic in the family of nations.

League members throughout the country support U.S. efforts to facilitate participation by the People's Republic of China in the world community and to relax tensions between the U.S. and China. Included among these welcome initiatives proposed by League members in 1969 at the conclusion of three years of study are increased travel, cultural exchange and trade relations, and movement toward the establishment of diplomatic recognition. League members strongly favor the withdrawal of U.S. opposition to the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the U.N., while at the same time recognizing the necessity for careful international diplomacy in seeking a resolution to the Taiwan problem. We understand the necessity for political astuteness and proper timing in this matter.

However, results of the vote by the 25th General Assembly on the Chinese representation question indicate to us that the time for bolder U.S. initiatives has arrived. Beyond the precedent-breaking majority vote on the issue, it is clear that an even greater number of states in the U.N. want the People's Republic of China to be a member. They are realistic in recognizing that it is better to have even a potentially troublesome mainland China represented at the world body than to continue a policy

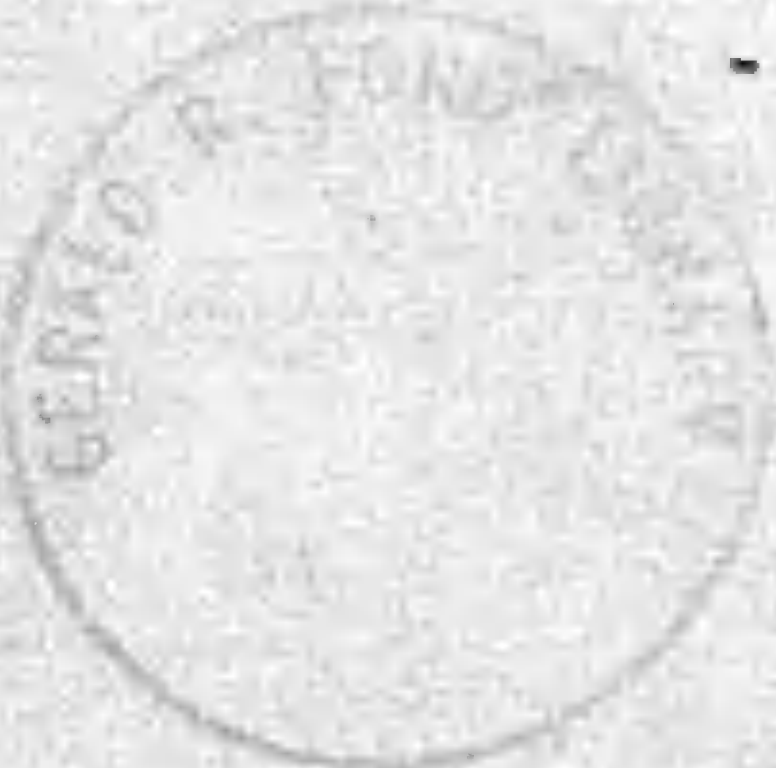
of exclusion. They are practical in understanding that the U.N. cannot make an effective contribution to international security, arms control and disarmament, and many other of the world's problems until it includes a delegation from the world's most populous nation.

In view of the rapid growth of international sentiment for better communication and relations with the People's Republic of China, the United States runs the risk of isolating itself in its opposition to the seating of that nation, unless it can successfully channel its diplomatic skills and energies in solving the dual problems of Taiwan's future status in the U.N. and representation for mainland China. The League is specifically concerned about the consequences, in the absence of a defined alternative U.S. policy, of possible failure in coming sessions of the General Assembly to gain support for the important question resolution.

Members of the League of Women Voters appreciate the complex and difficult nature of the mainland China-Taiwan issue, as well as its political and security aspects and its implications for the future of the U.N. We will welcome and support further initiatives in U.S. policy which resolve these difficult problems and provide a constructive solution whereby the interests of the United States, the United Nations, and its members can best be served.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, President





UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

NEW YORK

PRESS RELEASE

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Press Release USUN-163(71)
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to the United Nations, in Plenary, on Chinese Representation,
October 18, 1971.

Mr. President:

For 22 years the question of representation of the great
nation of China in the United Nations has been a major inter-
national issue -- a troublesome and intractable one.

In the history of this issue the year 1971 can be, and ought
to be, a year of change and decision.

At the outset, Mr. President, it is very difficult for me to
know how to reply to the outrageous slanders of the Delegate from
Albania, and for a moment it was hard to believe that we were in
October, 1971, because this old fashioned tirade, complete with
the cliches of the Cold War, rolled the clock back well before
October of 1971. And so I say it is difficult for me, but let us
proceed in this General Assembly debate without name calling and
let us discuss the issues. That is what we are here to do.

For 21 years the Assembly faced, on this question, only two
stark alternatives. We could either leave things as they were,
with no representation here for the enormous population of the
Chinese mainland, or we could agree to a formula which, in a single
stroke, would make room for the People's Republic of China by
expelling the Republic of China, a member and we all agree in good
standing. As to this latter step, the Assembly has always been
aware of its drastic nature and its fateful implications for the
UN itself -- and year after year this Assembly refused to take
this step, even though it meant prolonging the absence of the
People's Republic of China from this organization. So the
situation remained frozen.

-more-

Everybody has known, all through those years, that there was a third possibility. Instead of throwing out one of these governments to make room for the other, it was perfectly possible for the United Nations to accommodate them both. The fact that discussion of such a solution was highly distasteful to the settled policies of both was not, in itself, a conclusive argument against it, since the peaceful resolution of strongly held conflicting views very often requires difficult decisions. I believe all of us are aware that there has been a steadily growing discussion, although muted, about a practical way to accommodate the realities of the China question within the UN.

It has become increasingly clear that the past pattern of UN decision simply is no longer sufficient. The time has arrived to find a way to welcome the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. In so doing, however, we must act with due regard for realism, justice and the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

It must be a way which would avoid the unacceptable route of expelling a law-abiding and a faithful member of the United Nations. It should be a way that could command the assent of a sufficient majority in the General Assembly itself. It should be a way which facilitates the tasks of this Organization in working for peace. My Government set out to develop such a proposal, and in the process we consulted with very nearly the whole membership of the UN. We excluded a few from our consultations.

In embarking on this course we were well aware of the difficulties. For many years the issue had been posed in sharp black-and-white terms and positions had been frozen on each side. But we went ahead in the belief that this year ought to be, and could be, as we embark on the second quarter century of the United Nations, a year of decision -- and that the decision must be sound and realistic and just, and not one which this Organization would later have cause to regret.

In this spirit, and with the help of many governments sitting here today, we proceeded to shape an alternative to the Albanian Resolution. The final result is embodied in a draft resolution whose text appears in document A/L.633. It is cosponsored by nineteen members including the United States

Our draft resolution is short, and in the context of the Albanian Resolution I shall simply read it:

"The General Assembly,

Noting that since the founding of the United Nations fundamental changes have occurred in China,

Having regard for the existing factual situation,

Noting that the Republic of China has been continuously represented as a Member of the United Nations since 1945,

Believing that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations,

Recalling that Article 1, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations establishes the United Nations as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations,

Believing that an equitable resolution of this problem should be sought in the light of the above-mentioned considerations and without prejudice to the eventual settlement of the conflicting claims involved,

1. Hereby affirms the right of representation of the People's Republic of China and recommends that it be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council;

2. Affirms the continued right of representation of the Republic of China;

3. Recommends that all United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies take into account the provisions of this resolution in deciding the question of Chinese representation."

I need comment only briefly on this draft resolution. Its terms are simple and direct. In essence, it recommends that the People's Republic of China take over China's place as a permanent member of the Security Council, and provides representation both for the People's Republic of China and for the Republic of China in the General Assembly.

The sponsors of this resolution believe it is the most realistic, pragmatic and equitable solution to this problem. Under its terms,

-- the Republic of China would continue to be represented in the General Assembly instead of being summarily and unjustly ejected;

-- the representatives of the People's Republic of China with its enormous territory and population, would no longer be excluded from the General Assembly and, in addition, would occupy the seat of China in the Security Council;

-- all the people of China would thus at last be represented in the United Nations by the governments which for over 20 years have actually governed them.

Moreover, this resolution, while achieving these things, has been very carefully written in order to avoid any prejudice to related matters. It does not ask Member States to alter their recognition policies or their bilateral relations. It does not ask that it does not in any way purport to divide China into two separate states or to commit those who vote for it on how they may in the future regard the legal or the diplomatic situation of the parties

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involved. It does not take either a "two Chinas" position, or a "one-China one-Taiwan" position, or in any other way seek to dismember China. It is simply founded on the reality of the present situation as we all know it to be, but it does not seek to freeze this situation for the future. On the contrary, it expressly states in the preamble that a solution should be sought without prejudice to a future settlement.

We are aware that some, although recognizing this as a political initiative to solve a practical political problem, have raised legal questions. It is unavoidable that what we propose should be new because the situation that we are dealing with in October 1971 is unique. But the Charter, which is flexible enough to allow for the representation of Byelorussia, the Ukraine and the USSR is certainly flexible enough to accommodate this situation. Therefore, we have sought to develop a resolution that is compatible with the law of the Charter and which recognizes that if the UN is to be strong and keep pace with the times, it cannot and it must not be afraid to innovate.

That is the nature of this proposal we have placed before you. It is an eminently realistic, fair and practical proposal to solve this historic problem of Chinese representation.

There is another proposal before the Assembly: the Albanian resolution. It would not only admit the People's Republic of China but would also, in the same stroke, "forthwith" expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and all its organs.

The act of expulsion, fellow delegates, is the issue before us today. Both sides agree that the People's Republic of China should be admitted and both are in agreement on that point and both agree that they should sit in the Security Council as a permanent member. One fundamental point divides us: whether to retain or to expel the Republic of China.

I submit that the course of expulsion, first, is most ill-advised and dangerous as a precedent in the UN, and, second, it simply is an unacceptable price to pay for the entry of the People's Republic of China into this Organization. Let me give my reasons for both these points.

First, as to expulsion as a precedent.

In the 26-year history of the UN, no member has been expelled or deprived of its seat. Not one. In fact, the whole trend has been just the other way -- so that the original 51-nation membership has grown now to 131, including an immense variety of sizes and political systems. Yet here it is proposed that a member in good standing, a government representing over 14 million people, served here by decent men, with no Charter violations against its name and, on the contrary, with a most constructive record, should be expelled utterly from the United Nations and all its agencies -- solely because certain other governments question its legitimacy.

And let us remember realistically that, once expelled, the likelihood of the Republic of China ever being readmitted to the United Nations as a separate member, under whatever name or label, would be approximately zero -- given the fact that under the Charter a proposal for its admission could be vetoed in the Security Council.

If the Assembly is going to travel down that road, where do we stop? Who can predict what United Nations member could be next? Surely there is many another member in this organization which, though fully in possession of territory and governmental powers, could one day become the target of some political combination in these halls commanding a simple majority in this hall, aiming to throw it out of the United Nations solely because its right to govern is disputed by others.

If we are going to start playing with the right of members to sit in this Organization, as if that right were a chip in some international poker game, we will have started the United Nations itself down a very perilous slope. We think such a step could have a profoundly damaging effect on this organization and on the attitudes of many members towards it. It would lead away from universality, away from realism, and toward factionalism, recrimination and irrelevancy. It would damage the very fabric of this Organization.

At this point, Mr. President, I would like to say a few words about universality. Much has been said from this podium on this subject. During the 25th Anniversary session last year, two Declarations were adopted which endorsed the goal of universality. Many distinguished speakers in this year's general debate have reiterated their governments' dedication to this ideal. As we understand universality, Mr. President, it means the creation of circumstances whereby all peoples eventually can be represented in this world Organization. We honestly do not see how the supporters of the Albanian Resolution can logically invoke the principle of universality. Although they may question the legitimacy of the Republic of China, none of them contests the unblinkable fact that it is very much a reality. In our view, a vote for the Albanian Resolution is a vote against universality. One nation coming in and one out does not make this Organization more universal.

We should frankly face the fact that this session of the United Nations cannot and should not try to write the last chapter in the complicated history of China's relations with itself or with the rest of the world. We should concentrate instead on writing today's chapter in the history of China's relations with the United Nations. If we can do that, and do it right, we will have accomplished a great deal and, I believe, we will have given the United Nations a new lease on life.

There are those who argue that the Republic of China has to be expelled, however regrettable that is, simply because the People's Republic has announced in advance that it will not participate on any other basis. I respect the sincerity of those who make this argument, but for several reasons, we simply cannot agree.

The formula we have proposed has been most carefully written to avoid placing any unnecessary difficulties in Peking's way, comments from this podium prior to my speech notwithstanding.

The resolution neither says nor implies that there are "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan". It does not attempt to prejudice the status of China or of future developments between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China or of relations between them. It carefully closes no doors concerning future developments. It simply provides that, given the existing state of affairs, the People's Republic of China, which is not in the United Nations, should come in and should take over the Security Council seat; and that the Republic of China, which is in, should remain in. The resolution does not, to be sure, accept the claims of the parties; but neither does it deny or reject or prejudice those claims. It is completely silent on them. Nothing, consistent with the realities of the situation, could be less prejudicial.

For all these reasons, then, I commend to the General Assembly the 19-power draft resolution known as the "Dual Representation" Resolution.

-- It is a new approach responsive to a new and more hopeful situation in the relations between China and the rest of the world.

-- It provides, for the first time, effective representation in the United Nations for all the people of China by those who actually govern them.

-- It realistically provides that the People's Republic of China, which governs the largest population of any government on earth, should occupy the Security Council seat.

-- It avoids the expulsion of the Republic of China -- an unnecessary, unrealistic, dangerous and irreversible step which is the distinguishing feature of the Albanian resolution.

-- It carefully avoids any attempt to prejudice or foreclose the ultimate solution of any of the disputed issues relating to China, or to affect the recognition policies or bilateral relations of any member.

Fellow delegates, the time has come for the United Nations to settle this question -- and to do so in a way that will be just to all parties, realistic in its reflection of the facts, and constructive for the United Nations and its members. I have great confidence that this can be done, and that the Dual Representation resolution will do it. By contrast, the expulsion of a member in good standing, which would result from the Albanian Resolution, is simply unrealistic, and certainly dangerous for the future of the United Nations.

It is for this reason that the United States and its co-sponsors have proposed a second resolution. This resolution begins with a very brief reference to the provisions of the Charter and then it reads, and I quote:

"Decides that any proposal in the General Assembly which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter."

In practical terms, our resolution would require that the Albanian Resolution or any other resolution having the effect of depriving the Republic of China of representation must obtain a two-thirds majority in order to be adopted.

Let me be very, very clear here as to what we are talking about.

We are dealing in this "important question" resolution with the question of expulsion.

If you vote "yes" on the non-expulsion resolution you are voting against this insidious precedent of expulsion by a simple majority.

If you vote "no" on this resolution you in essence will be voting for expulsion -- and in so doing you will in our judgment and in the judgement of many members sitting out here today be undermining the very foundation of the United Nations itself. The issue is just exactly that clear.

And no matter how honorable men here will twist and turn so as to avoid this serious question -- the one and only question involved here is expulsion. Are you for it or against it -- it's just that simple.

It is only logical and in keeping with United Nations practice that this procedural point should be settled before the voting on substantive proposals. Accordingly, the United States delegation moves that the General Assembly vote first on the resolution contained in document A/L.632.

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the question before us is the most serious and important that will face the Assembly in this session or, possibly, for years to come. Let me assure you that the United States approaches it in a most serious and forthright spirit. Our present policy is a logical evolution of the position we stated in this hall on this issue last year. My colleague sitting here today, Ambassador Phillips, stated on November 12, 1970, "The fact of the matter is, the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents and achievements of the great people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization." That was last year. We want to see both these entities in the United Nations. Our policy need not and does not interfere with the plans for President Nixon's visit or with the mutual desire of the two sides to develop better contact one with the other.

Many difficult issues surround the relations of the Chinese People's Republic with the rest of the world. They cannot all be resolved overnight. We in this Assembly certainly cannot resolve them all by any amount of resolution-making. What we can do is to decide-- here, now at long last -- the vexing problem that is properly before us: how China should now be represented in the United Nations.

Let each of us for a moment look at what is best for the United Nations. Many of you know very well that you don't really want the Republic of China expelled. We 19 countries who have sponsored our resolution ask you now to act here at the United Nations with the United Nations' best interests in mind.

Let us stand up for what is fair and decent and constructive.

Let us welcome a large and dynamic reality to our midst, but let's do it not on its own terms but on the United Nations' terms. Let us affirm representation for the People's Republic of China, but let us vigorously protect the principle that no smaller reality, in this case the Republic of China, which has abided by the Charter, faithfully abided by this Charter, need ever fear, now or in the future, that it will be expelled to accommodate a larger reality.

Let us make this decision realistically, wisely, equitably and in a way that will strengthen the United Nations for its service to peace, now and for time immemorial.

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UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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Everybody has known, all through those years, that there was a third possibility. Instead of throwing out one of these governments to make room for the other, it was perfectly possible for the United Nations to accommodate them both. The fact that discussion of such a solution was highly distasteful to the settled policies of both was not, in itself, a conclusive argument against it, since the peaceful resolution of strongly held conflicting views very often requires difficult decisions. I believe all of us are aware that there has been a steadily growing discussion, although muted, about a practical way to accommodate the realities of the China question within the UN.

It has become increasingly clear that the past pattern of UN decision simply is no longer sufficient. The time has arrived to find a way to welcome the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. In so doing, however, we must act with due regard for realism, justice and the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

It must be a way which would avoid the unacceptable route of expelling a law-abiding and a faithful member of the United Nations. It should be a way that could command the assent of a sufficient majority in the General Assembly itself. It should be a way which facilitates the tasks of this Organization in working for peace. My Government set out to develop such a proposal, and in the process we consulted with very nearly the whole membership of the UN. We excluded a few from our consultations.

In embarking on this course we were well aware of the difficulties. For many years the issue had been posed in sharp black-and-white terms and positions had been frozen on each side. But we went ahead in the belief that this year ought to be, and could be, as we embark on the second quarter century of the United Nations, a year of decision -- and that the decision must be sound and realistic and just, and not one which this Organization would later have cause to regret.

In this spirit, and with the help of many governments sitting here today, we proceeded to shape an alternative to the Albanian Resolution. The final result is embodied in a draft resolution whose text appears in document A/L.633. It is cosponsored by nineteen members including the United States

Our draft resolution is short, and in the context of the Albanian Resolution I shall simply read it:

"The General Assembly,

Noting that since the founding of the United Nations fundamental changes have occurred in China,

Having regard for the existing factual situation,

Noting that the Republic of China has been continuously represented as a Member of the United Nations since 1945,

Believing that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations,

Recalling that Article 1, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations establishes the United Nations as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations,

Believing that an equitable resolution of this problem should be sought in the light of the above-mentioned considerations and without prejudice to the eventual settlement of the conflicting claims involved,

1. Hereby affirms the right of representation of the People's Republic of China and recommends that it be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council;

2. Affirms the continued right of representation of the Republic of China;

3. Recommends that all United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies take into account the provisions of this resolution in deciding the question of Chinese representation."

I need comment only briefly on this draft resolution. Its terms are simple and direct. In essence, it recommends that the People's Republic of China take over China's place as a permanent member of the Security Council, and provides representation both for the People's Republic of China and for the Republic of China in the General Assembly.

The sponsors of this resolution believe it is the most realistic, pragmatic and equitable solution to this problem. Under its terms,

-- the Republic of China would continue to be represented in the General Assembly instead of being summarily and unjustly ejected;

-- the representatives of the People's Republic of China with its enormous territory and population, would no longer be excluded from the General Assembly and, in addition, would occupy the seat of China in the Security Council;

-- all the people of China would thus at last be represented in the United Nations by the governments which for over 20 years have actually governed them.

Moreover, this resolution, while achieving these things, has been very carefully written in order to avoid any prejudice to related matters. It does not ask Member States to alter their recognition policies or their bilateral relations. It does not ask that it does not in any way purport to divide China into two separate states or to commit those who vote for it on how they may in the future regard the legal or the diplomatic situation of the parties

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involved. It does not take either a "two Chinas" position, or a "one-China one-Taiwan" position, or in any other way seek to dismember China. It is simply founded on the reality of the present situation as we all know it to be, but it does not seek to freeze this situation for the future. On the contrary, it expressly states in the preamble that a solution should be sought without prejudice to a future settlement.

We are aware that some, although recognizing this as a political initiative to solve a practical political problem, have raised legal questions. It is unavoidable that what we propose should be new because the situation that we are dealing with in October 1971 is unique. But the Charter, which is flexible enough to allow for the representation of Byelorussia, the Ukraine and the USSR is certainly flexible enough to accommodate this situation. Therefore, we have sought to develop a resolution that is compatible with the law of the Charter and which recognizes that if the UN is to be strong and keep pace with the times, it cannot and it must not be afraid to innovate.

That is the nature of this proposal we have placed before you. It is an eminently realistic, fair and practical proposal to solve this historic problem of Chinese representation.

There is another proposal before the Assembly: the Albanian resolution. It would not only admit the People's Republic of China but would also, in the same stroke, "forthwith" expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and all its organs.

The act of expulsion, fellow delegates, is the issue before us today. Both sides agree that the People's Republic of China should be admitted and both are in agreement on that point and both agree that they should sit in the Security Council as a permanent member. One fundamental point divides us: whether to retain or to expel the Republic of China.

I submit that the course of expulsion, first, is most ill-advised and dangerous as a precedent in the UN, and, second, it simply is an unacceptable price to pay for the entry of the People's Republic of China into this Organization. Let me give my reasons for both these points.

First, as to expulsion as a precedent.

In the 26-year history of the UN, no member has been expelled or deprived of its seat. Not one. In fact, the whole trend has been just the other way -- so that the original 51-nation membership has grown now to 131, including an immense variety of sizes and political systems. Yet here it is proposed that a member in good standing, a government representing over 14 million people, served here by decent men, with no Charter violations against its name and, on the contrary, with a most constructive record, should be expelled utterly from the United Nations and all its agencies -- solely because certain other governments question its legitimacy.

And let us remember realistically that, once expelled, the likelihood of the Republic of China ever being readmitted to the United Nations as a separate member, under whatever name or label, would be approximately zero -- given the fact that under the Charter a proposal for its admission could be vetoed in the Security Council.

If the Assembly is going to travel down that road, where do we stop? Who can predict what United Nations member could be next? Surely there is many another member in this organization which, though fully in possession of territory and governmental powers, could one day become the target of some political combination in these halls commanding a simple majority in this hall, aiming to throw it out of the United Nations solely because its right to govern is disputed by others.

If we are going to start playing with the right of members to sit in this Organization, as if that right were a chip in some international poker game, we will have started the United Nations itself down a very perilous slope. We think such a step could have a profoundly damaging effect on this organization and on the attitudes of many members towards it. It would lead away from universality, away from realism, and toward factionalism, recrimination and irrelevancy. It would damage the very fabric of this Organization.

At this point, Mr. President, I would like to say a few words about universality. Much has been said from this podium on this subject. During the 25th Anniversary session last year, two Declarations were adopted which endorsed the goal of universality. Many distinguished speakers in this year's general debate have reiterated their governments' dedication to this ideal. As we understand universality, Mr. President, it means the creation of circumstances whereby all peoples eventually can be represented in this world Organization. We honestly do not see how the supporters of the Albanian Resolution can logically invoke the principle of universality. Although they may question the legitimacy of the Republic of China, none of them contests the unblinkable fact that it is very much a reality. In our view, a vote for the Albanian Resolution is a vote against universality. One nation coming in and one out does not make this Organization more universal.

We should frankly face the fact that this session of the United Nations cannot and should not try to write the last chapter in the complicated history of China's relations with itself or with the rest of the world. We should concentrate instead on writing today's chapter in the history of China's relations with the United Nations. If we can do that, and do it right, we will have accomplished a great deal and, I believe, we will have given the United Nations a new lease on life.

There are those who argue that the Republic of China has to be expelled, however regrettable that is, simply because the People's Republic has announced in advance that it will not participate on any other basis. I respect the sincerity of those who make this argument, but for several reasons, we simply cannot agree.

The formula we have proposed has been most carefully written to avoid placing any unnecessary difficulties in Peking's way, comments from this podium prior to my speech notwithstanding.

The resolution neither says nor implies that there are "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan". It does not attempt to prejudice the status of China or of future developments between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China or of relations between them. It carefully closes no doors concerning future developments. It simply provides that, given the existing state of affairs, the People's Republic of China, which is not in the United Nations, should come in and should take over the Security Council seat; and that the Republic of China, which is in, should remain in. The resolution does not, to be sure, accept the claims of the parties; but neither does it deny or reject or prejudice those claims. It is completely silent on them. Nothing, consistent with the realities of the situation, could be less prejudicial.

For all these reasons, then, I commend to the General Assembly the 19-power draft resolution known as the "Dual Representation" Resolution.

-- It is a new approach responsive to a new and more hopeful situation in the relations between China and the rest of the world.

-- It provides, for the first time, effective representation in the United Nations for all the people of China by those who actually govern them.

-- It realistically provides that the People's Republic of China, which governs the largest population of any government on earth, should occupy the Security Council seat.

-- It avoids the expulsion of the Republic of China -- an unnecessary, unrealistic, dangerous and irreversible step which is the distinguishing feature of the Albanian resolution.

-- It carefully avoids any attempt to prejudice or foreclose the ultimate solution of any of the disputed issues relating to China, or to affect the recognition policies or bilateral relations of any member.

Fellow delegates, the time has come for the United Nations to settle this question -- and to do so in a way that will be just to all parties, realistic in its reflection of the facts, and constructive for the United Nations and its members. I have great confidence that this can be done, and that the Dual Representation resolution will do it. By contrast, the expulsion of a member in good standing, which would result from the Albanian Resolution, is simply unrealistic, and certainly dangerous for the future of the United Nations.

It is for this reason that the United States and its co-sponsors have proposed a second resolution. This resolution begins with a very brief reference to the provisions of the Charter and then it reads, and I quote:

"Decides that any proposal in the General Assembly which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter."

In practical terms, our resolution would require that the Albanian Resolution or any other resolution having the effect of depriving the Republic of China of representation must obtain a two-thirds majority in order to be adopted.

Let me be very, very clear here as to what we are talking about.

We are dealing in this "important question" resolution with the question of expulsion.

If you vote "yes" on the non-expulsion resolution you are voting against this insidious precedent of expulsion by a simple majority.

If you vote "no" on this resolution you in essence will be voting for expulsion -- and in so doing you will in our judgment and in the judgement of many members sitting out here today be undermining the very foundation of the United Nations itself. The issue is just exactly that clear.

And no matter how honorable men here will twist and turn so as to avoid this serious question -- the one and only question involved here is expulsion. Are you for it or against it -- it's just that simple.

It is only logical and in keeping with United Nations practice that this procedural point should be settled before the voting on substantive proposals. Accordingly, the United States delegation moves that the General Assembly vote first on the resolution contained in document A/L.632.

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the question before us is the most serious and important that will face the Assembly in this session or, possibly, for years to come. Let me assure you that the United States approaches it in a most serious and forthright spirit. Our present policy is a logical evolution of the position we stated in this hall on this issue last year. My colleague sitting here today, Ambassador Phillips, stated on November 12, 1970, "The fact of the matter is, the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents and achievements of the great people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization." That was last year. We want to see both these entities in the United Nations. Our policy need not and does not interfere with the plans for President Nixon's visit or with the mutual desire of the two sides to develop better contact one with the other.

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Many difficult issues surround the relations of the Chinese People's Republic with the rest of the world. They cannot all be resolved overnight. We in this Assembly certainly cannot resolve them all by any amount of resolution-making. What we can do is to decide-- here, now at long last -- the vexing problem that is properly before us: how China should now be represented in the United Nations.

Let each of us for a moment look at what is best for the United Nations. Many of you know very well that you don't really want the Republic of China expelled. We 19 countries who have sponsored our resolution ask you now to act here at the United Nations with the United Nations' best interests in mind.

Let us stand up for what is fair and decent and constructive.

Let us welcome a large and dynamic reality to our midst, but let's do it not on its own terms but on the United Nations' terms. Let us affirm representation for the People's Republic of China, but let us vigorously protect the principle that no smaller reality, in this case the Republic of China, which has abided by the Charter, faithfully abided by this Charter, need ever fear, now or in the future, that it will be expelled to accommodate a larger reality.

Let us make this decision realistically, wisely, equitably and in a way that will strengthen the United Nations for its service to peace, now and for time immemorial.

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UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS

Press Release USUN-167(71)
October 23, 1971

AT THE WHITE HOUSE
WITH RONALD L. ZIEGLER (WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY)
3:25 P.M. EDT
October 22, 1971
FRIDAY

Excerpts from White House news conference held October 22 following a conference in which Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Ambassador George Bush, Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, reported to President Nixon on the matter of the representation of China in the United Nations.

MR. ZIEGLER: The President met with Ambassador Bush and Secretary Rogers this afternoon for about an hour. The way this meeting came about is as follows:

Ambassador Bush was here in Washington talking to the Secretary about the China representation vote which is coming up in the United Nations. The Ambassador was giving the Secretary an up-to-date report, a full report on the situation.

The Secretary called the President to talk to him by telephone, and the President asked at that time that the Secretary and the Ambassador come over to the White House this afternoon, which they did, to give the President a report on the China representation matter before the United Nations.

The Ambassador and the Secretary did make a full report on the current situation. They made an encouraging report to the President. They indicated that the voting on the matter

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would very likely begin on Tuesday of next week. The Secretary said in the meeting, which I sat in part of, and the Ambassador gave the same indication, that they were encouraged by the recent developments at the United Nations and felt that considerable progress had been made.

The President told both the Ambassador and the Secretary, and told me, that he wanted to again emphasize that his full weight is behind the statements and the efforts that Ambassador Bush and the Secretary have put forth in regard to the United States' position on the China representation matter.

The President wanted to emphasize his full and complete support for their efforts and for the job that they have been doing in stating the U.S. position, and his full support for the statements that they have made and the efforts they are making to maintain a seat for the Republic of China in the United Nations.

Q. Ron, can you tell us what specific vote is coming on Tuesday, which of the various issues?

MR. ZIEGLER: We do not know specifically, but in all likelihood, Bob, the first vote on Tuesday would be on priority; in other words, whether or not the important question or the Albanian resolution would be voted on first. But the Ambassador told me, although he was not totally certain, that he anticipated that the vote on priority would be the first vote.

Q. Could you be any more specific about what you mean by "an encouraging report"? In other words, what recent developments have taken place that encourage it?

MR. ZIEGLER: Well, the developments in terms of the support of the position for retaining a seat for the Republic of China in the United Nations has picked up. In other words, the Secretary and the Ambassador are encouraged by the growing support for that position.

Q. Did they give any numbers?

MR. ZIEGLER: They did discuss that, but I cannot convey that to you.

Q. Did they indicate that they are fairly sure of a majority at this point?

MR. ZIEGLER: They told the President that they were encouraged. I feel that the point they conveyed is that they are confident that the Republic of China will maintain its seat in the United Nations.

Q. Ron, it is possible that Dr. Kissinger in Peking has been in communication with the President, as you clarified the other day. Has any of this reason for encouragement been based in any sense on communication with Peking?

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MR. ZIEGLER: No, it has not, Bob. My remarks relate to the Ambassador's contacts with the various U.N. members and the Secretary's....

Q. Have you ever said, or would you say today, whether we believe that Peking would take its seat in the U.N. if both seats were retained?

MR. ZIEGLER: No, I would not be prepared to speak for that government....

Q. Was there any discussion during this meeting with Ambassador Bush and the Secretary of State about the position the United States would take in the event the vote was unfavorable?

MR. ZIEGLER: Well, they are not thinking in those terms. They are thinking about meeting their objective, and they were encouraged by that. So they were speaking in a positive and not in a negative sense....



UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
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Press Release USUN-168(71)
October 25, 1971

Statement by Ambassador George Bush, United States Representative
to the United Nations, in Plenary, on Chinese Representation,
October 25, 1971.

Mr. President:

Very shortly our debate on the representation of China will be over, and we will be proceeding to vote on the proposals before us. We have already debated this question for a week -- as well we might, because it is a question of great importance and the decisions we are about to take will be historic, momentous decisions for the United Nations.

Let me now sum up the strongly held view of the United States.

We in the United States Delegation have listened most attentively to all the statements made here, representing all shades of view. Within the immense variety of arguments we find one dominant theme throughout this debate, one dominant issue. That issue is not over the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

In fact, for the first time in the history of the United Nations there is something close to unanimity behind the proposition that it is time for the People's Republic to be seated in the United Nations, including taking its seat as a permanent member of the Security Council. That is a major and historic development here. It is not at issue in the United Nations any more.

No, the issue before us can be stated very simply:

Shall the Republic of China be "expelled forthwith" from the United Nations, or shall its continued representation be affirmed?

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That is the heart of the matter. It is the only question in the debate; it is the only question in the resolutions we are about to vote on; and it is the question on which I intend to concentrate in this statement.

There may be a thousand shadings in the answers to this question, and I don't deny that shadings can be important.

But when we come to the heart of the matter, there are only two possible answers: either the Republic of China will continue to be represented in the United Nations or it will be expelled. And between those two stark alternatives the United States very deeply and earnestly believes that one is right and the other wrong.

The Republic of China should not and must not be expelled or deprived of its U.N. representation. It should and must continue to be represented in this Organization.

In the terms of our resolution, the Assembly should affirm "the continued right of representation of the Republic of China."

Let me sum up our reasons for this position as simply and clearly as I can.

First: This solution is realistic. To retain the Republic of China in the United Nations, while seating the People's Republic in both the General Assembly and the Security Council, is the most realistic solution open to us.

It reflects the plain facts of who governs in Taiwan as well as who governs the Chinese Mainland.

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For 20 years the United States has been accused of ignoring reality. Today I submit it is the sponsors of the Albanian Resolution who are ignoring reality. It is amazing to what lengths some of the supporters of the Albanian Resolution have gone to disguise these facts or distract attention from these plain facts.

Mr. President, the representatives of the Republic of China speak for the government of a population numbering 14 million.

Many governments in this debate have indicated that including the actual governments of the world in the United Nations is a wise step, a creative step that ought to be taken wherever it is feasible. That is what we think is meant by that much-used and much-abused word "universality."

Any action that would lead to the first expulsion of a member in the 26-year history of the United Nations would be a blow to the principle of universality.

So that is our first reason -- realism and universality.

Second, we believe the evolution of this reality is for the parties concerned to determine. The United Nations has no need to prejudice or predetermine or pass judgment on the conflicting claims-- except to help insure that the dispute is resolved only by peaceful means. The United Nations should not, and our resolution does not, attempt to write the future history of China, or to influence the evolution of that part of the world.

I submit that we should leave those matters to history, as determined by the people directly concerned, and stick to the real issue before us the issue is this: how all the people of China should be represented in this organization.

This leads me to my third point. The representation of both these Chinese governments in the United Nations, in accordance with the terms of our resolution, is a perfectly practical plan. It contains nothing prejudicial to the position of either party -- and indeed it has been most carefully written to avoid doing so. It does not prejudice any ultimate solution of this matter.

I have heard many speakers speculate on what might or might not happen if this Assembly adopts the resolutions which we have presented.

But I submit, Mr. President, that our task is not to speculate but to find a valid, equitable and realistic solution. Let us in the United Nations have the courage of our own convictions and do what we believe is right and necessary -- what is truly in the interests of this organization and of world peace.

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If we act in that spirit, we will want to make sure that the decision we are about to take benefits all the people directly concerned, not just the majority.

It must be a decision that will not just satisfy some debatable technical requirement but will serve a major objective in keeping with the broad purposes and principles of the United Nations. That objective is to see to it that there is real, meaningful, effective representation in these halls for all these people -- including those 14 million on Taiwan. And how is such real representation to be brought about at this point in time, except through the actual governments that effectively govern.

How else can we resolve this great issue in a way that does not violate our collective conscience?

In my Government's extensive consultations with almost all members of the United Nations on this question, we heard one view expressed more consistently than any other. It was that the Republic of China ought not to be denied representation here as the price for opening the door to the People's Republic of China.

Some expressed strong opposition to expulsion. Some expressed a profound aversion to such a prospect; others, at least, a deep regret. But however this view was stated, it became clear to us that a large majority of the members of this Organization insist, or at the very least strongly prefer, that the Republic of China should continue to be represented here along with the People's Republic of China.

That, Mr. President, is the real underlying conviction of the majority of members in this Assembly. Let us act and vote on that conviction.

And now my fourth point: The question of legality. I am frankly surprised that some of the supporters of the Albanian resolution should have argued against our resolution on grounds of legality, of conformity with the Charter and the rules of due process, and so on.

If there is a resolution before us which is arbitrary and which flies in the face of justice and due process -- which are the real concern of the law -- it is most certainly the Albanian resolution. No wonder it has been rejected so many times, year after year, by this Assembly. In total disregard of the Charter it proposes to "expel" -- that is the word, and that is the act it describes -- to "expel" the Republic of China from the United Nations and all its organs without regard for the people concerned.

It would do so by a majority vote of this Assembly, and without any reference to the law of the Charter concerning expulsion. Where is due process here? Has anyone presented a shred of evidence that the Republic of China, in the words of Article 6, has "persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter"? There is no such evidence. The Republic of China has no stain on its name here, no Charter violation of any kind. It is a member in excellent standing.

Many members here have cause to know of its constructive service, both to the purposes of this Organization and to the developing countries.

The supporters of the Albanian resolution would have us believe that they propose to expel some amorphous group of people who represent no one at all. Presumably they are a group of private individuals who somehow have secured delegates' badges. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What the proponents of the Albanian Resolution propose is the expulsion of the representatives of 14 million people. It should be clear to all in this room that if the Albanian Resolution should pass in its present form, those people will be deprived of their only representation in the United Nations.

By contrast, the dual representation resolution is straightforward, non-contentious -- studiously impartial in its language -- and fully within the law of the Charter.

Some may ask where and when the Charter has been used before in precisely the way our resolution proposes. The answer of course is, nowhere -- because in 26 years the United Nations has never faced precisely this situation. But we have demonstrated in other actions that the Charter is a flexible document. It was written by wise men to cope with the unforeseeable. Within the Charter's limits two members are present here that are governed by the Soviet Government in Moscow.

Within its limits India, even before full independence, became a full voting member. Within its limits Egypt and Syria joined, became one member, divided again, and resumed their separate seats. Within its limits two members, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, joined and became one. Within its limits Indonesia, having renounced its membership, after some years changed its mind and -- amid general rejoicing -- resumed its seat without any formality of readmission.

In every such case the United Nations has faced a reality, not a theory -- and has acted accordingly, finding new solutions for new problems.

We are in a similar situation now. We face a reality not a theory. Our proper concern must be to do justice to the complex reality that exists today in the form of effectively governing entities, and the Charter gives us the room to innovate to satisfy that concern.

Finally, a word about the first proposition that will come before us in the voting: the resolution deciding that any proposal to exclude the Republic of China from the United Nations is an important question.

This "non-expulsion" resolution will have the effect of requiring that the Albanian Resolution, which contains such an expulsion proposal, will fail unless it receives a two-thirds majority.

To decide such a question without a two-thirds majority vote would be unthinkable. The proposal to expel the Republic of China is, as I said at the outset of this statement, the heart of the matter before us. If it were to be adopted it would be the first expulsion of a member -- by any procedure, legal or illegal -- ever carried out in the history of the United Nations.

If this is not an important question, what is?

To take such a decision by a bare majority would expose this organization in future times to ill-considered attempts to railroad other members out of the United Nations as soon as a majority of members should decide -- possibly on quite transitory and emotional grounds -- that such and such a member does not truly represent its people or that some other group represents them better.

If members in this way, by a simple majority vote in this hall, could impugn before the world each other's legitimacy and each other's right to be called states -- what a sore temptation that would be toward the promoting of instability and confusion in the United Nations and in the world. Such a development would inevitably raise new and grave questions in many countries as to whether the United Nations had become a cockpit for dissension rather than an instrument of peace.

Fellow delegates, the issue is clearly marked -- inclusion, or expulsion; impartiality, or one-sided and arbitrary punishment.

If this is not an important question, what is?

Let the United Nations take the affirmative road -- not the road of exclusion. Let it take the constructive road -- that which assures equal rights as between large and small -- not the ancient, discredited, and utterly sinister road that leads to the rule of the strong over the weak.

Let this decision, fellow delegates, be made not in Taipei or Peking, but here in New York. Let it be made not according to the demands of either party but according to the interests and the spirit of the United Nations.

And having made our decision in that spirit, then we can in good conscience say to both parties: the halls of the United Nations are big enough for you both; the doors of the United Nations are open to you both for the urgent and creative work of building a more peaceful world.

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FEBRUARY 27, 1972

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

February 28, 1972
Shanghai, People's Republic
of China

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tsetung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States

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envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution -- this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;
- both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;
- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

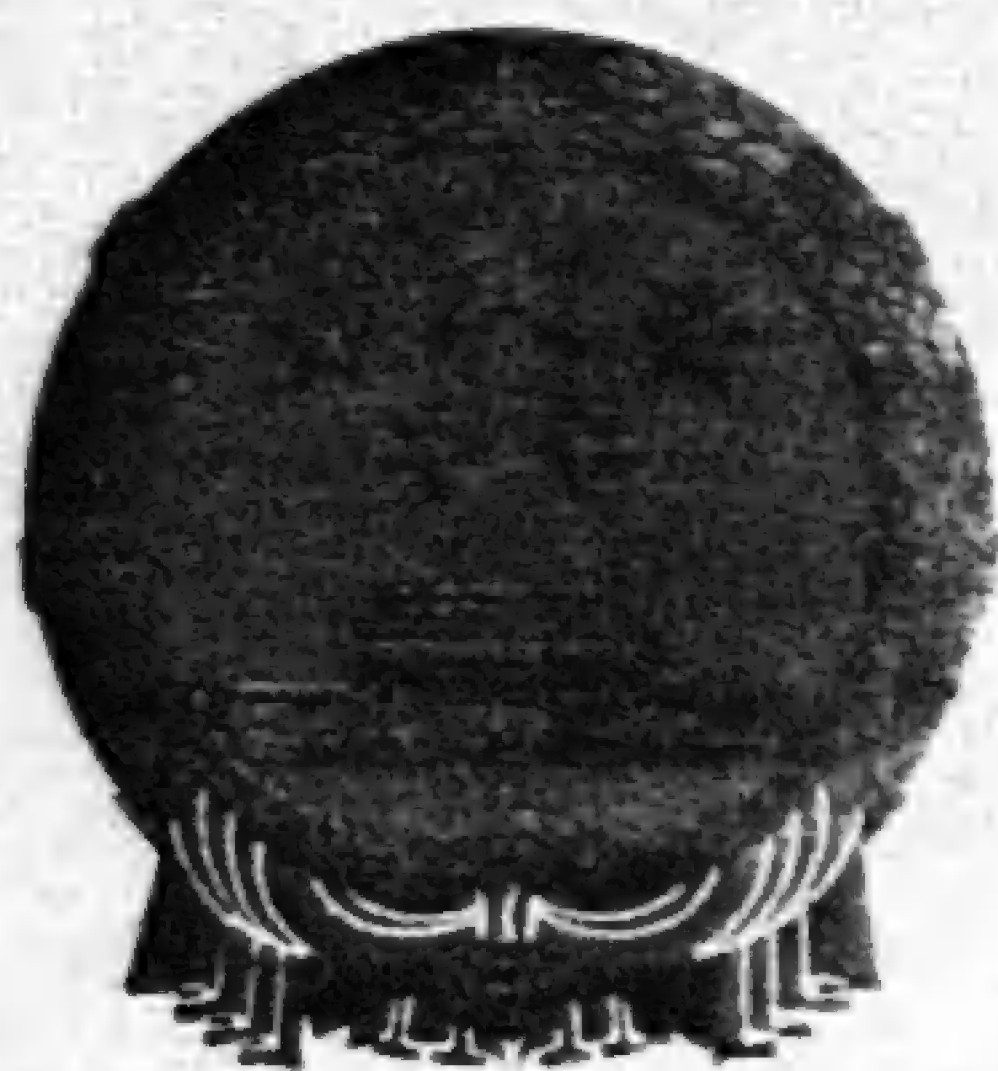
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The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

155 WEST 66th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10023

PRESS RELEASE

S P E E C H B Y
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE 27TH SESSION
OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OCTOBER 3, 1972



T R A N S L A T I O N

Mr. President,

A number of important changes have taken place in world situation since the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. A series of new victories have been achieved by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence. Countries of the Third World are getting united on a wider scale to oppose the superpower policies of aggression, expansion and war; they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Meanwhile, some important events have taken place in international relations. In the East, the leaders of China and the United States have held talks after more than twenty years' suspension of relations between the two countries. They have made clear the differences of principle between the two sides and agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should handle their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and that international disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. Recently, Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan paid a visit to China, and the two sides have reached an important agreement on the normalization of the relations between China and Japan, thus realizing the long standing aspirations of the two peoples and opening up a new chapter in the relations between the two countries. In the West, the Soviet Union and the United States held summit talks and signed a number of bilateral agreements on cooperation in the fields of science and technology, culture, education and health. The European Economic Community has grown and expanded. In the Middle East, far-reaching progress has been made in the Arab country's struggle to free itself from superpower control. The struggle of the people of various countries and the changes in international relations have helped in varying degrees to promote the relaxation of international tension.

However, it cannot but be noted that there is no essential change in the situation in which a superpower is pushing expansionism by all means in contending for world hegemony. The acute and complicated contradictions and struggles between imperialism on the one hand and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other have not abated.

To this day, the U.S. war of aggression against Indochina is still going on. Because of the meddling by the Soviet Union, the turmoil on the South Asian subcontinent has failed to subside. The stalemate of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East remains. In Europe, with the two military blocs confronting each other, there is no, and cannot be any, genuine security. Colonialism of different forms persists in many parts



of the world. The sovereignty and independence of many small and medium-sized countries are still being infringed and their national resources plundered. 27 years have elapsed since the end of World War II. There are still foreign military bases of various kinds and large numbers of foreign troops on the territories of many countries. The arms race between the two superpowers is being stepped up without cease, seriously menacing the independence and security of the peoples of the world. The whole Western world is in the grip of financial and monetary crises, which have aggravated its various contradictions. In these circumstances, how can the world not be in turmoil? The world is still in the process of great turbulence, great division and great re-alignment. The struggle between aggression and anti-aggression, interference and anti-interference, subversion and anti-subversion, control and anti-control is bound to continue for a long time.

The Chinese Delegation holds that the people of all countries must not be deluded by certain temporary and superficial phenomena of detente at the present time and develop a false sense of security. While striving for world peace and the progress of mankind, we must maintain sufficient vigilance and make necessary preparations against the danger of new wars of aggression any imperialism may launch.

Mr. President,

To end the war in Indochina as soon as possible is the most urgent matter for easing the tension in the Far East. At present, the people of the whole world, including the American people, strongly condemn the U.S. Government for its wanton bombing, mining and blockading against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and resolutely demand that it immediately stop all its acts of aggression against Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina and withdraw all the armed forces of the United States and its followers, so that the peoples of the three Indochinese countries may solve their own problems independently, free from any foreign interference. Fair and reasonable ways for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam and Indochina question have been put forward in the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the elaboration on its two key points and in the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. Of late, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam issued a statement on September 11, demanding that

the United States cease its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war and its support to the Saigon puppet regime, and pointing out that a solution to the problem of South Viet Nam must proceed from the actual situation in south Viet Nam in which there exist two administrations and two armies as well as other political forces and that a provisional government of national concord composed of three equal segments must be formed to take charge of the affairs in the period of transition. This proposal is fair and reasonable. It shows that the Vietnamese side has no intention to impose a communist regime on south Viet Nam. Rejection of this proposal precisely bespeaks the attempt to continue to impose the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime on the south Vietnamese people. The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand of the Vietnamese people and of the three Indochinese peoples.

The three Indochinese countries are close neighbours of China, and the three Indochinese peoples are the Chinese people's brothers. We are duty-bound to support them in their just struggle against foreign aggression, and we will never interfere in their internal affairs. On behalf of the Chinese Government, I once again solemnly declare on this restrum: So long as the war in Indochina goes on in whatever form, the Chinese Government and people, not flinching from the greatest national sacrifice, will firmly support the three Indochinese peoples in fighting to the end.

It is necessary to point out here that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, is the sole legal representative of the Khmer people and effectively controls nearly 90 per cent of Cambodian territory. The Lon Nol regime is imposed on the Khmer people by foreign forces, and it is illegal from the very beginning. The representatives of the Lon Nol clique have no right to occupy Cambodia's seat in the United Nations. More and more countries in the world have recognized this reality and truth. The Chinese Delegation holds that the United Nations should rectify the present unreasonable and illegal state of affairs and restore to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia its lawful rights.

On July 4 this year, initiated and promoted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, north and south Korea reached agreement on the principles and steps for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, thus strengthening the confidence of the 40 million and more Korean people, who have been divided for twenty-seven years, in the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Chinese Government and people warmly welcome this agreement. Nineteen years have elapsed since the armistice in Korea. The Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea as early as 1958. But in south Korea there still remain a so-called "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and a so-called "U.N. Command". This is an anachronism. The combination of the two implies a threat to north Korea. This is an underlying factor making for the continuation of tension on the Korean Peninsula. Now, north and south Korea have agreed to gradually achieve the reunification of Korea independently and by peaceful means without reliance upon foreign forces or their interference. Why should the United Nations keep these two stumbling blocks in front of the Korean people? The General Assembly should discuss the proposed item "Creation of Favourable Conditions to Accelerate the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea" and adopt a pertinent resolution to remove these two stumbling blocks. It is regrettable, however, that discussion of this fair and reasonable proposal has been deferred to next year. To dodge a problem is no solution. It is argued that the discussion should be postponed to next year because north and south Korea are now in contact. This argument is untenable. One may ask, will there be no more contacts between north and south Korea next year? This is obviously a pretext. A postponement is neither in the interests of the Korean people nor conducive to relaxation of tension on the Korean Peninsula. We hope that the countries concerned will reconsider their stand.

Mr. President,

Now I wish to speak on the question of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. We all remember that last December in this very hall, the General Assembly at its 26th Session adopted by the overwhelming majority of 104 votes a resolution calling for ceasefire and troop withdrawal by India and Pakistan. Subsequently, the Security Council also adopted by 13 votes in favour and two abstentions a resolution demanding ceasefire, troop withdrawal and release of prisoners of war by all those concerned. However, while the relevant resolutions of the United Nations were not yet implemented, the Soviet Government and its followers raised at the Security Council last August the question of the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations. In disregard of the reasonable demand of many countries to postpone the consideration of the question, they insisted on a vote to compel China to use the veto. China's stand for postponing the consideration of this question does not mean that we are fundamentally

opposed to the admission of "Bangladesh" into the United Nations. China cherishes friendly sentiments for the people of East Bengal and has no prejudice against Mr. Mujibur Rahman. We stand for postponing the consideration of this question, in order to promote a reconciliation among the parties concerned and the implementation of the U.N. resolutions, which are the very immediate concern. However, the Soviet Government has hurriedly pressed for U.N. admission of "Bangladesh". This is definitely not aimed at helping "Bangladesh", but at forcing China to use the veto, maintaining and aggravating the tensions among the parties concerned on the subcontinent and white-washing its foul act of supporting the Indian Government in dismembering Pakistan last year. But its attempt will not succeed. If it had been national self-determination, it should have been the people of East Bengal solving their problems by themselves. Why should Indian troops have invaded East Pakistan? And why should the 90,000 and more Pakistani war prisoners and civilians have been taken to India?

After the admission of "Bangladesh" has been vetoed, certain people are trying to bypass the Security Council and referring the question to the General Assembly for discussion. This is clearly done with ulterior motives. This will in no way help promote a reconciliation among the parties concerned on the subcontinent, nor will it reflect honour on the country inciting such a move. China stands firm on principles. China considers that whether or not reasonable U.N. resolutions supported by the overwhelming majority of its members are implemented is a matter of principle affecting what direction the U.N. is heading for. And on matters of principle China will never retreat.

The present situation of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East is solely created by the two superpowers for their respective interests. Taking advantage of this situation, they are using Arab countries' territories and sovereignty and the Palestinian people's right to existence as stakes to strike political deals. The United States is openly supporting the aggression by Israeli Zionism. The other superpower claims to "support and assist" the Arab people in their struggle against aggression. Has it supported and assisted them? It has indeed sold them no small amount of weapons. But strangely, the weapons supplied are not allowed to be used. Is this not asking people to buy scrap iron? Moreover, it demands privileges and bases, and even attempt to subvert their government. What kind of "friend" is this? It is more dangerous than an open enemy.

However, recent developments show that the heroic Arab people will not allow others to ride on their backs and lord it over them for long. They have taken determined actions to shake off superpower domination. This commands admiration. Do not believe the sensational nonsense deliberately spread by a superpower that no counter-attack should be made against Israel's armed aggression for that would spark a world war. That is meant to scare people. It has been borne out repeatedly by the history of the 20 years and more since World War II. We believe that, so long as they strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, the Arab countries subjected to aggression are fully capable of recovering their sacred territories and the injured Palestinian people regaining their national rights. The Chinese Government has always opposed assassination and hijacking of individuals as a means for waging political struggles and is also opposed to terrorist acts by individuals or a handful of people divorced from the masses, because they are harmful to the development of the cause of national liberation and people's revolution. But we strongly condemn Israel for the recent barbarous aggression and massacres it has committed against Lebanon, Syria and other Arab countries on the pretext of the "Munich incident". The Chinese people will always stand together with the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle against aggression.

The situation in the Mediterranean is closely related to that in the Middle East and Europe. In contending for hegemony, the two superpowers have dispatched large numbers of war vessels to the Mediterranean and set up many military bases there, posing a threat to the security of the countries around the Sea. Now more and more Mediterranean countries have raised their voice for "a Mediterranean of the Mediterranean countries", and demanded the withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Mediterranean. Their demand is entirely just and the Chinese Government and people firmly support it.

It is fully understandable that the people of the European countries, who have gone through two world wars, are all concerned for the peace and security of Europe. Twenty-seven years have passed since the end of World War II, and yet many European countries are still under the military control of one superpower or the other, with large numbers of foreign troops stationed on their territories. Making use of the confrontation of the two military blocs, each of the two superpowers is trying hard to keep its allies under control and undermine the opposite side. In these circumstances, how can one speak of genuine peace and security for the people of the European countries? What calls for attention is the fact that there are now some people who, capitalizing on the European people's eager desire for peace, are trying

hard by various tactics to cover up the reality that European peace and security are still under threat, and to create the false impression of a European detente and "all quiet on the western front", so as to attain their ulterior purposes. The fact that a superpower could, when it considered it necessary, launch a surprise attack to occupy an ally with massive troops shows that such a "military alliance" is no guarantee for peace at all. Security is out of the question for any country when it is under virtual occupation.

We hold that, in order truly to ensure peace and security for Europe, it is necessary to oppose firmly the aggression, interference, subversion and control by the superpowers, to disband the military blocs, withdraw the foreign armed forces and bring about peaceful coexistence of the European countries on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit. Otherwise, the so-called European Security Conference can only be another name for the division of spheres of influence between the two superpowers by making use of military blocs. Such a conference would better be called "the European Insecurity Conference" rather than "the European Security Conference". An increasing number of countries are demanding that all the European countries should take part as equals in the European Security Conference and its preparations with equal powers and opposing the holding of the conference as between two blocs. They especially oppose the two big powers monopolizing everything behind the backs of the other countries and manipulating the destiny of their people. This is an expression of the profound aspirations of the European people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the people of the European countries in all their efforts to oppose the power politics and hegemonism practised by the superpowers.

In Africa, particularly in southern Africa, the mass movements against the White colonialist rule, racial discrimination and apartheid and for national liberation have made great new progress, marking a further enhancement of the political consciousness of the African people. The people in southern Africa and other regions, which have not yet achieved independence, are increasingly aware that the only way to overthrow the White colonialist rule and win national liberation is to rely mainly on their own efforts, fully arousing and organizing the masses and waging an unyielding valiant struggle. It is necessary to seek external assistance, but more and more facts have proved that it is impossible to

put an end to the colonialist rule by relying on other people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the heroic people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Spanish Sahara. Their struggles are just, and so long as they carry on perseveringly, fear neither hardship nor sacrifice and advance wave upon wave, they will surely, with the sympathy and support of the peoples of Africa and the whole world, win final victory.

As a developing country, China, from her own experience, fully sympathizes with the deep aspirations of the Asian, African and Latin American countries for the defence of their national independence, the protection of their resources and the development of their national economy. We resolutely support the Latin American countries in their struggle to defend their rights over the 200 nautical-mile maritime rights. We resolutely support the petroleum- and other raw material-exporting countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against plunder by foreign forces. We resolutely support the developing countries in their struggle against imperialist countries shifting their economic crisis on to them. We resolutely support the small and medium-sized countries in their struggle against big powers plundering their fishery resources.

We hold that, in order to change the backward state of their economy, the developing countries should first of all rely on themselves, that is, they should rely mainly on their own efforts and take foreign aid as an auxiliary. The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other. Those countries which have already won liberation are all the more duty-bound to support and assist those countries subjected to oppression and aggression. But now some people are using aid as a means for controlling other countries and expanding their own spheres of influence. When they give something to other countries, they assume the airs of a benefactor and demand all sorts of privileges. They send to the recipient countries experts and advisers who behave as tyrants, ordering people about and lording it over them. How could this be called aid?

We hold that all countries which are sincere in providing aid to others, including multilateral aid through the United Nations, should help the recipient countries and not to exploit them. Their loans should be interest-free or, at least, low in interest. They must not press for repayment but should allow its postponement. When providing a loan or other forms of aid, they should strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, attach no conditions and ask for

no privileges. The purpose of providing aid to other countries should be to help the recipient countries stand on their own feet and develop an independent national economy. They must not reduce the recipient countries to dependence and subordination in the name of "economic aid" and "international division of labour", let alone placing them under their control on the pretext of "aid". China, too, received some foreign aid in the past and had direct experiences in this regard. Therefore, today when we provide aid to other countries, we endeavour to act on the above-mentioned principles. Of course, our capabilities in this respect are limited and the aid we can give is not much. But we hold that the above-mentioned principles should be propagated and applied universally.

Mr. President,

Now I wish to speak on the question of disarmament. Not long ago some agreements on the limitation of strategic armaments were reached by the Soviet Union and the United States in high-level talks. There is no need for us to comment on these agreements if they are regarded merely as bilateral affairs between the Soviet Union and the United States. But if they are being blown up as tremendous achievements on the road of reducing the threat of nuclear war, we cannot agree. These agreements only stipulate some limitation on the quantity of certain categories of nuclear weapons in the possession of the Soviet Union and the United States, but impose no limitation at all on their quality, nor do they mention a single word about the destruction of nuclear weapons. This can by no means be regarded as a step towards nuclear disarmament. On the contrary, this marks the beginning of a new stage in the Soviet-U.S. nuclear arms race. Before the ink on the agreements had dried, the one hastened to test new-type nuclear weapons and the other expressed its intention to make a big increase immediately in its military expenditure. How can this be described as reducing the threat of a nuclear war? We hold that no fond illusion should be cherished about these agreements. In 1921, the major naval powers of the time prescribed a limitation on their respective total tonnages of capital ships, and the limitation was reaffirmed in 1930. Everybody knows what happened in the end. It is not without meaning to recall this historical case today.

Moreover, the Soviet Union and the United States have stated in the document on the "basic principles of relations between" them that they have a special responsibility to avert conflicts which would serve to increase international tensions, and they have recognized each other's security interests based on the principle of equality. What special responsibility

and what equal security interests? According to Khrushchov's "theory", do they not stand for Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination? Of course, one can talk like that, but it would not be so easy to have it realized.

As everyone knows, war is the continuation of politics. The invention and development of nuclear weapons have not changed, nor can they change, this truth. Although no new world war has occurred since World War II, local wars of various types have never ceased. Why? Because imperialism resorts to armed force in carrying out aggression and expansion. Where there is oppression there is resistance, and where there is aggression there is struggle against aggression. This is inevitable so long as imperialism exists. But now the Soviet Government asserts that in a nuclear age there is no other way than the peaceful coexistence among states, which presupposes, above all, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations, that is, the non-use of both conventional and nuclear weapons. It has even spread the alarmist theory that the destructive power of even conventional warfare has by now increased so greatly that the large-scale use of conventional weapons can lead to the annihilation of entire nations. But the world will be safe once there is a resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. This is a sheer hoax. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Government does not believe in its own theory. Their practice in the Middle East, where they gave weapons to Arab countries but forbade the use of them, does smack a little of this "theory". Yet, in the Indo-Pakistan war last year, they gave undisguised support to the Indian Government in its armed aggression against Pakistan. What kind of non-use of force is this?

People condemn war and consider it a barbarous way of settling disputes among mankind. But we are soberly aware that war is inevitable so long as society is divided into classes and the exploitation of man by man still exists. There are two categories of wars, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars. If a socialist still wants to be a socialist, he should not oppose all wars indiscriminately. The non-use of force in international relations can only be conditional and not unconditional. The condition is to realize peaceful coexistence through mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and equality and mutual benefit. And in order to realize this it is imperative to oppose the policies of aggression and expansion of any imperialism. When imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism of various descriptions are still using force to enslave,

commit aggression against, control and threaten a majority of the countries of the world, it is betrayal to the people of the world to advocate non-use of force in international relations indiscriminately, without regard to conditions and in an absolute way. If one still has a grain of socialism in him, why doesn't he produce something presentable, for instance, opposition to aggression in international relations, and especially aggression backed by nuclear weapons? Why should he, on the contrary, choose to produce such shabby stuff as renunciation of the use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons? In that way, doesn't he allow himself to be seen through right away?

Permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons -- this sounds so nice and looks so much like China's proposition, but in fact it is completely different. We say that, as the first step towards the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, agreement should first be reached on the non-use of nuclear weapons. And we have publicly declared that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. This fully shows that China is developing nuclear weapons for defensive purposes and with the aim of breaking the nuclear monopoly and proceeding from there to eliminate nuclear weapons. If the Soviet Union entertains the same defensive purposes as it has claimed, why does the Soviet representative not dare to come up to this rostrum and make a similar declaration? How can it make people believe its big talk for the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons to be sincere when it, while mouth-ing such prohibition, is constantly brandishing the nuclear weapons, obdurately opposing the possession and development of nuclear weapons by countries with few or no nuclear weapons, feverishly improving and developing its own nuclear weapons and deploying them at the gates of other countries? It asserts that the renunciation of the use of force and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be effective only when the two are linked together. In actuality, this is demanding that the people of the world give up their armed struggle against aggression, otherwise, nuclear weapons will be used against them. Is this not its plain logic? Big talk is useless. The proposal of the Soviet Government, no matter how much it is couched in diplomatic language, has the real intent of making all oppressed nations and peoples tamely submit to the nuclear threat of the one or two superpowers. But they have grossly underestimated the political consciousness of the people of the world.

In order truly to do away with nuclear threat, it is necessary to completely prohibit and thoroughly destroy nuclear weapons. Yet the Soviet Government dares neither to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons nor to touch on the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons but advocates the cessation of all nuclear tests. Why? As everyone knows, the Soviet Union has made hundreds of nuclear tests. When it had made enough tests in the atmosphere, it proposed the partial ban on nuclear tests. Now when it has made enough underground tests, it calls for a ban on all nuclear tests. Actually this means that the Soviet Union could make any kind of tests when it had the need, and that when it no longer has the need the others are not permitted to make any test. This is another trap blatantly designed to maintain its nuclear monopoly, following the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. As a Chinese saying goes, "The magistrates are allowed to burn down houses, while the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." China absolutely will not fall into this trap. At no time and in no circumstances will China recognize such a right for the Soviet Union or any other nuclear power. No one but they alone are permitted to develop nuclear weapons; they may threaten others but others are not allowed to exercise the right of self-defence. Can there be such reason on earth? At present, a mere cessation of all nuclear tests without complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can only hinder countries with few or no nuclear weapons from developing their nuclear capabilities for self-defence but will not affect in the least the nuclear hegemony of the superpowers. The real purpose of the proposal of the Soviet Government is to maintain its nuclear monopoly and nuclear superiority by capitalizing on many countries' legitimate desire for peace, so that it can have a free hand to carry out its nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail against countries with few or no nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons are something which people can neither eat nor wear. China is a developing country and certainly does not want to spend one penny more than necessary on such stuff. China is making nuclear tests under compulsion. Her nuclear tests are taking place in her interior, and their number is limited. China is ready at any time to stop all her nuclear tests, but only on the day the nuclear weapons of the nuclear superpowers and all other nuclear countries are completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed, and not before.

On the question of convening a world disarmament conference, we have explained the position and views of the Chinese Government at the 26th Session of the General Assembly. We cannot agree to the Soviet position on the "world disarmament conference" as set forth in the Soviet Foreign Minister's letter of August 14 this year to the

U.N. Secretary-General. The "world disarmament conference" as proposed by the Soviet Union has neither the necessary requisites, nor a clear aim. It would in fact be an "empty-talk club" which would indulge in far-ranging rambling discourse without solving any practical problem. To hold such a conference would only serve to hoodwink and lull the people of the world. It is better not to hold it.

The actual situation in the world today is this: The two superpowers are maintaining military bases of various kinds, including nuclear bases, and stationing large numbers of their armed forces, including nuclear-missile forces, in many countries; their airplanes, warships and submarines, including those carrying nuclear weapons, are flying and plying everywhere; and they have up to now refused to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly not to use them against non-nuclear countries. To varying degrees, all the countries in the world with no nuclear weapons and those with few nuclear weapons are exposed to their threat. The most urgent question today is the withdrawal of foreign armed forces, rather than the reduction of armaments. Let the two superpowers withdraw all their armed forces, both conventional and nuclear, back to their own countries. If they do not even want to effect a withdrawal, how can one believe that they are willing to make an arms reduction?

The cry for general and complete disarmament has been going on for more than a dozen years. But the result is general and complete arms expansion by the two superpowers, while all the small and medium-sized countries of the world are in a position of defence inadequacy. This hoax should not be allowed to continue. In order that a world disarmament conference will make a true start and carry on fruitfully instead of becoming a bout of deceptive empty talk, it is imperative to create the necessary conditions for the convening of such a conference, namely, all nuclear countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States which possess the greatest amount of nuclear weapons, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, and that they not only will not use nuclear weapons against each other, but, more importantly, will not use them against the non-nuclear countries, and they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Only thus will it be possible to create the necessary conditions for all the countries, irrespective of their size, to discuss and solve on an equal footing the

important questions of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional weapons.

Mr. President,

Since the beginning of this year, the United Nations and its Security Council have done much work thanks to the joint efforts made by the overwhelming majority of the member states. What merits special mention is that the Security Council held special meetings in Africa on African questions. This was an unprecedented action taken at the demand of many African countries. The meetings adopted a number of useful resolutions on some African questions. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in the capital of Chile, many developing countries forcefully exposed the situation in which certain developed countries, by trade, tariff, monetary and other means, are monopolizing international markets, shifting their economic crisis onto, and stepping up the plunder and exploitation of, other countries, thus aggravating the irrational international phenomenon of "the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer". The developing countries strongly demanded that this state of affairs must be changed. At the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in the capital of Sweden, many countries of the Third World strongly condemned imperialism for carrying out policies of aggression and war and put forward a number of sound views and reasonable opinions on the question of conserving and improving the human environment. At the sessions of the Seabed Committee, many countries of the Third World carried out resolute struggles to safeguard their own natural resources and upheld the just position that each country has the right to determine the scope of its own territorial sea and jurisdiction. At all these meetings and conferences, many countries of the Third World showed their firm determination to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and played important roles. However, we cannot but point out with regret that owing to obstructions by the one or two superpowers, the United Nations has remained weak and ineffective in dealing with many major international issues. Some correct resolutions adopted by the United Nations remain unimplemented due to hindrance by the one or two superpowers. Many organs and agencies of the United Nations are still dominated by a small number of countries and fail to reflect the demands and opinions of the great number of countries of the Third World. In the United Nations there still prevails the very serious phenomenon of discussions without a decision and decisions without implementation. All this should be corrected speedily.

Administrative Files: Subject File, China-US Relations: - Admission Of China To The UN. 1969 - 1972. MS Records of the National Council for United States-China Trade 1973-1983: Records of the National Council for United States-China Trade 1973-1983 Collection. Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library. Archives Unbound, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5102026634/GDSC?u=santabarb&sid=GDSC&xid=e0fe9e19>. Accessed 7 Dec. 2020.